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ABSTRACT

The three papers in this publication discuss American Indians in Montana. "Indian Poverty in Montana: Findings of the 1960 Census" examines data pertaining to the Indians' economic background. Income data, derived from 25 percent of the population, reports income received in 1959 from: (1) wages, salaries, commissions, and tips; (2) "own business, professional practice, partnership or farm"; and (3) social security, pensions, veterans' payments, rent (minus expenses), interest and dividents, unemployment insurance, welfare payments, and "any other sources." The assimilation of American Indians into the larger white American society is discussed in "American Indians in the Melting Pot," "Indian Culture and Industrialization" covers Indian cultural traits, the Western factory system and some changes in the factory organization, and implications for factories employing Indian labor. The Yankton Plant (electronics) on the Yankton Sioux Reservation in South Dakota is an example of a successful factory which incorporates some of these changes. (NQ)

INDIANS IN MEXICO

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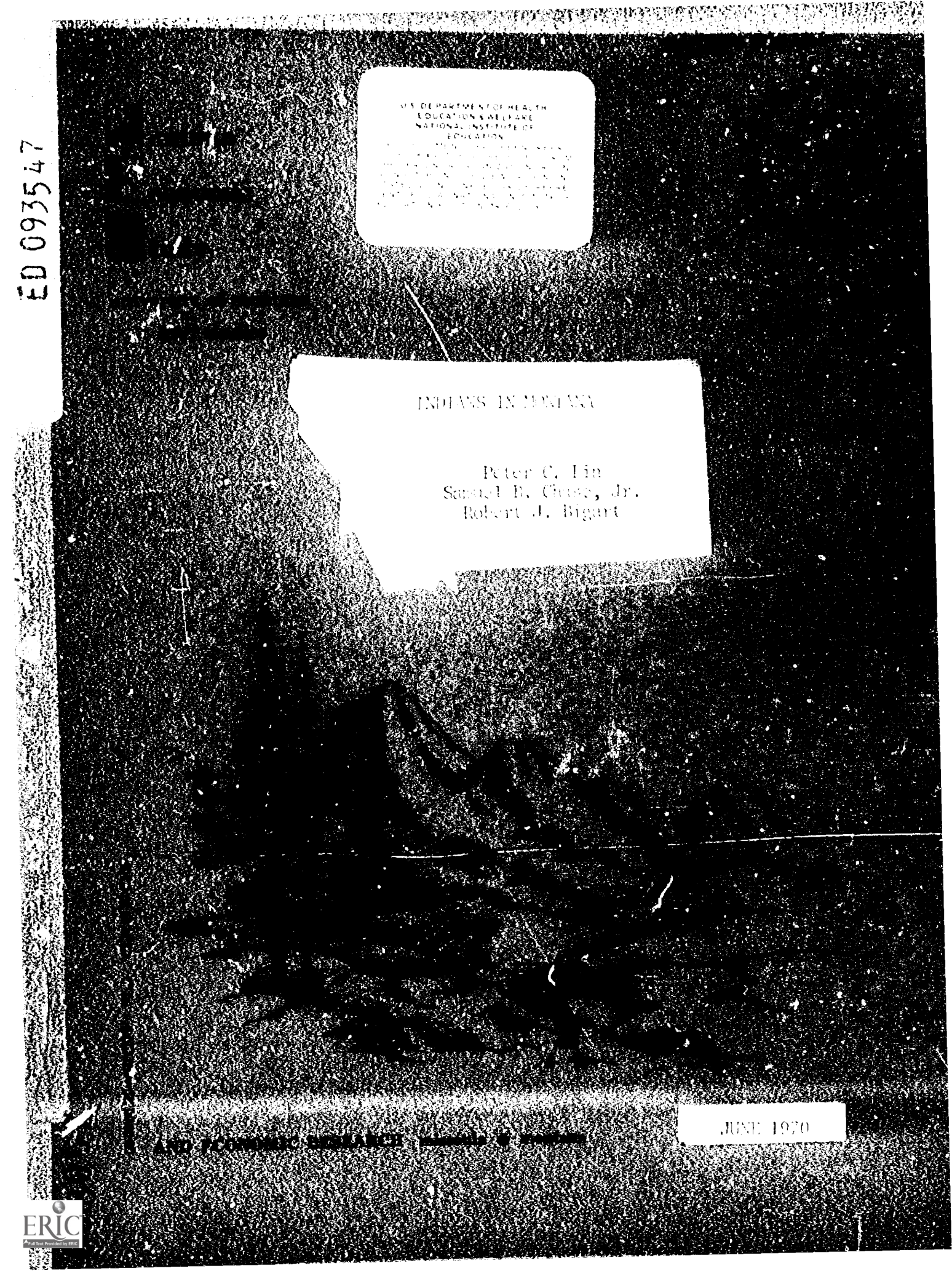

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INDIAN POVERTY IN MONTANA: FINDINGS OF THE 1960 CENSUS

by

Peter C. Lin and Samuel B. Chase, Jr.

Montana's original residents have not, as a group, shared in the affluence of postwar America. If the state, in connection with its economic development policies, is going to do something about Indian poverty, those who make the policies will need to have some good notions about the nature of that poverty, and some yardsticks by which to measure both its extent and the progress of programs designed to alleviate it. Apparently such yardsticks have heretofore not been given much thought or study.

The only available sources of data that systematically measure the economic well-being of Indians are income figures gathered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and those gathered by the Census Bureau.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs data are published in a casual way, and with little detail. There are reasons to be uncomfortable about their accuracy. The Census Bureau data are published in rich detail. They, too, have statistical drawbacks, but the procedure for collecting and editing them is highly scientific, and one can feel reasonably confident that they are tolerably accurate.

We know of no previous attempts to analyze these census data for Montana in such a way that they can be useful to those who are charged with developing and administering programs aimed at alleviating Indian poverty. The 1960 Census figures are now ten years old; therefore when 1970 Census data become available, they should be analyzed as quickly as possible. Meanwhile it is still worthwhile to take stock of what the earlier data reveal.

This paper examines data from the 1960 Census related to the economic well-being of Indians in Montana. The census income data were derived from a sample of 25 percent of the population who were asked to report the amounts of income received in calendar 1959 from (1) wages, salaries, commissions, and tips, (2) profits or fees from "own business, professional practice, partnership or farm," and (3) income received from social security, pensions, veterans payments, rent (minus expenses), interest and dividends, unemployment insurance, welfare payments and "any other source." The total of these, called "money income," does not include income-in-kind such as food and fuel produced and consumed on farms, subsidized portions of medical services, and implicit net rent of owner-occupied dwellings. No allowance is made for taxes paid. Family income statistics are the combined incomes of all members of the family.

As the Census Bureau puts it:

> The schedule entries for income are frequently based not on records but on memory, and this factor probably produces underestimates, because the tendency is to forget minor or irregular sources of income. Other errors of reporting are due to misunderstanding of the income questions or to misrepresentation.[1]

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1. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), p. XXIII.

Montana's population in 1960 was 674,800, of whom 21,200 (3.1 percent) were Indians. As table 1 shows, although less than half of the total population lived in rural areas, almost nine-tenths of the Indian population did. Most of the Indians lived on reservations, and over three-fourths of the total Indian population was concentrated in seven counties (Big Horn, Blaine, Glacier, Hill, Lake, Roosevelt, and Rosebud).

1960 CENSUS INCOME DATA

Income estimates are for the year 1959. They are broken down by color--"white" and "nonwhite." No separate data are reported for Indians, but since Indians accounted for 88 percent of the total nonwhite population, the figures for nonwhites may be considered to be close approximations to the data for Indians. Income estimates are reported separately for "families" and "unrelated individuals." Less than 10 percent of the total nonwhite population in 1960 was made up of unrelated individuals--in other words, 90 percent lived in family units. For this reason, the emphasis here is placed on family incomes.

Average Income Levels

In 1959 the median income of nonwhite families in Montana was $3,011, only 55 percent as large as the $5,453 median income of white families. Nationally, the picture was about the same. The median income of nonwhite families across the country--$3,161--was only 53 percent as high as the $5,984 median income of white families.

TABLE 1

Population by Color
Montana, 1960

	Total	Urban	Rural
White	650,738	334,088	316,650
Nonwhite	24,029	4,369	19,660
Indian	21,181	2,572	18,609
Negro	1,467	931	536
All other	1,381	866	515
Total population	674,767	338,457	336,310

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28B (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 15, p. 22.

Not only was the median income of nonwhite families only a little over half that of white families, but each nonwhite family had about two more mouths to feed. The average size of nonwhite families in Montana was about 5.7, compared with about 3.7 for white families.

Income Distribution Among Families

Comparisons of averages do not reveal the whole picture of the relatively poor position of most nonwhite families. Consideration of income distribution among families sheds additional light. Percentage distributions of white and nonwhite families ranked according to the size of their 1959 incomes are shown in figure 1. As is always the case for large groups, the distributions show a single most frequent income--called the mode--with fewer and fewer recipients as one moves toward lower or higher incomes. Both distributions, as is usual, are skewed to the right; that is, there is a long dwindling tail to the right on each distribution, meaning that only a very small proportion of families receive incomes substantially above the median.

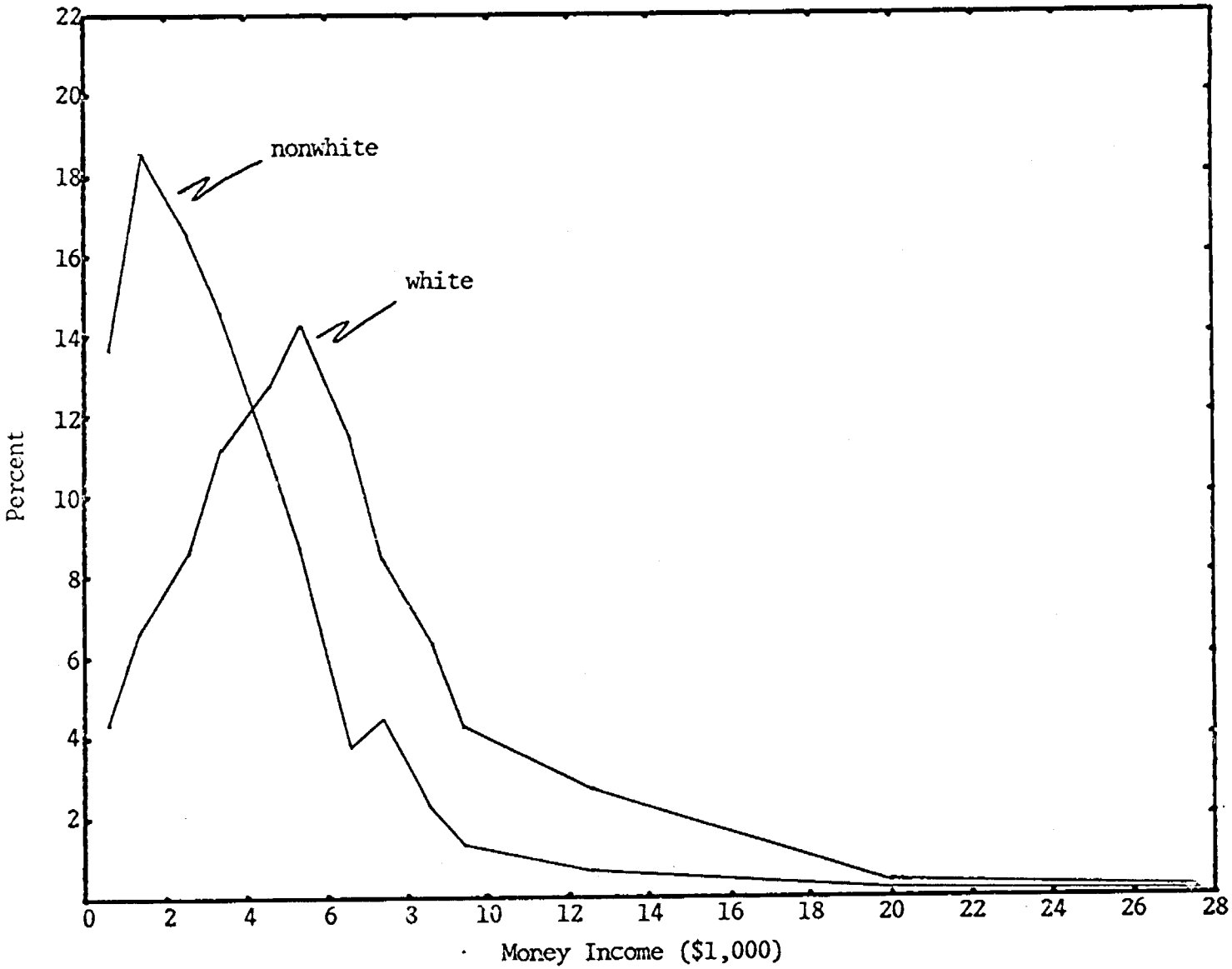
A striking feature of the income distributions shown in figure 1 is the high concentration of nonwhite families at very low-income levels. Table 2, which is based on the same data as figure 1, also emphasizes this fact. In 1959, the proportion of nonwhite families which had incomes below $2,000 was nearly three times as great as that of white families, and nearly 50 percent of nonwhite families had incomes under $3,000, compared with only 20 percent of white families.

Greater Inequality Among Nonwhite Families

A high concentration of nonwhite families in the lowest-income ranges is, of course, to be expected, given the low average incomes

Figure 1

Percent Distribution of Families by Level of Money Income
White and Nonwhite, Montana, 1959



Source: Derived from data in U.S. Census of Population: 1960.

TABLE 2

Percentage Distribution of Families by the Level of Money Income and by Color
Montana, 1959

	Percentage of Families	
	White	Nonwhite
Under $ 1,000	4.23	13.60
$ 1,000 - 1,999	6.62	19.63
2,000 - 2,999	8.60	16.60
3,000 - 3,999	11.21	14.66
4,000 - 4,999	12.88	11.17
5,000 - 5,999	14.24	8.74
6,000 - 6,999	11.52	3.73
7,000 - 7,999	8.42	4.53
8,000 - 8,999	6.35	2.25
9,000 - 9,999	4.24	1.36
10,000 - 14,999	8.47	2.34
15,000 - 24,999	2.45	1.18
25,000 & over	.76	.20
	100.00	100.00

Source: Derived from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, and Detailed Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 65, p. 107.

Note: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

of this group. But the problem is compounded by a greater-than-average inequality of income among nonwhite families.

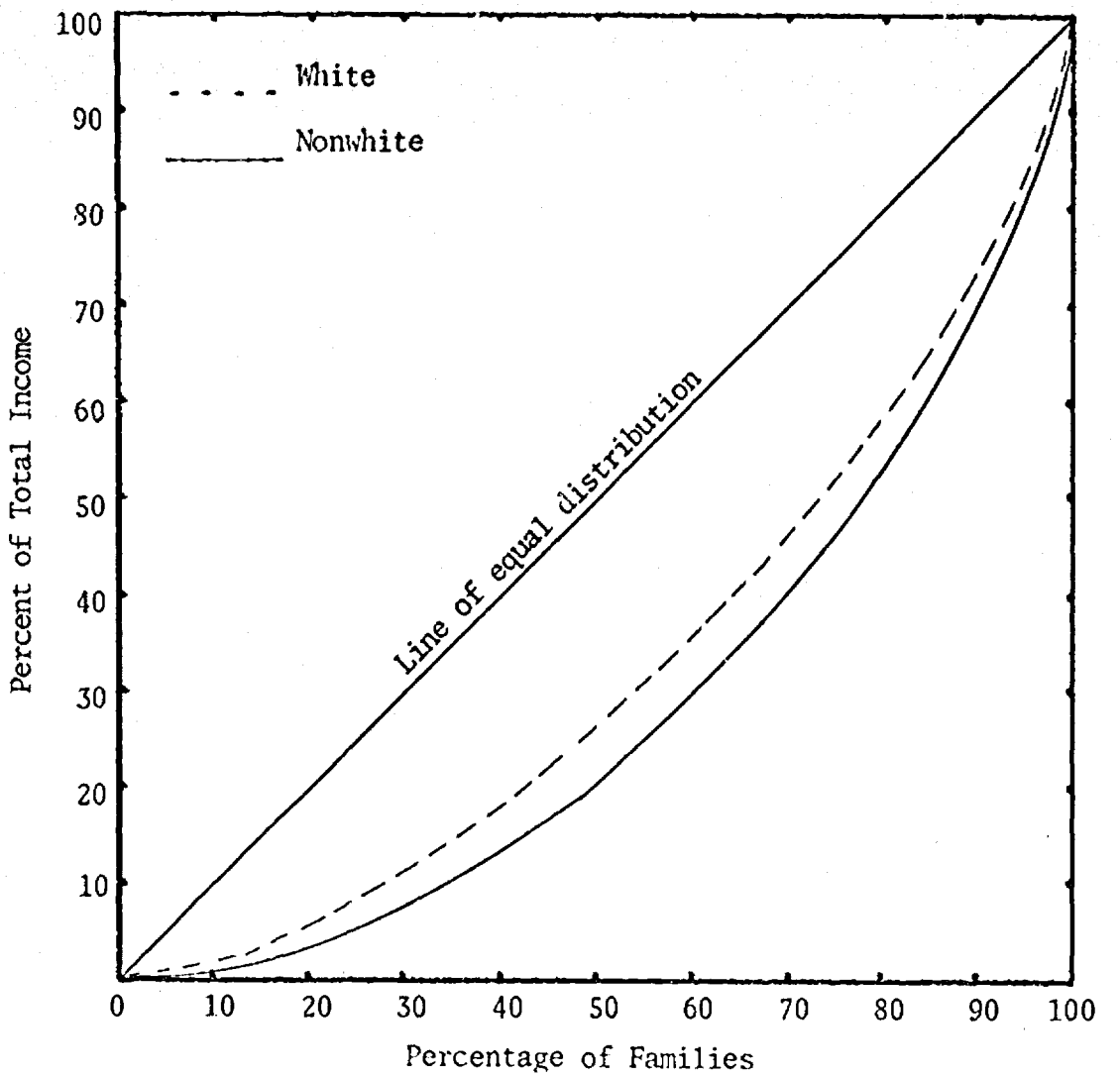
One of the most common measures of income inequality is the Gini ratio of concentration, derived from the Lorenz curve, a graphic device used to portray income inequalities. The Lorenz curve shows the cumulative percent of aggregate income received by the cumulative percent of income-receiving units (families), starting with the lowest-income units. Figure 2 shows Lorenz curves for white and nonwhite families in Montana, based on 1960 census data.

A perfectly equal distribution of income among all families in a class would result in the Lorenz curve being a diagonal straight line rising from the lower left-hand corner to the upper right-hand corner of the diagram. The more unequal the distribution of income, the greater is the departure of the Lorenz curve from the diagonal line of equal distribution, and therefore, the larger is the area between the Lorenz curve and the diagonal line.

The Gini ratio of concentration is the ratio of the area between the Lorenz curve and the diagonal to the entire area in the triangle under the diagonal. This ratio is zero in the case of perfect equality in income distribution, for in that case the Lorenz curve and the diagonal coincide. At the other extreme, in the case of "perfect inequality," where one family receives all of the income and others receive none, the Gini ratio is one. As table 3 shows, the estimated Gini ratio for 1959 was 0.352 for Montana's white families and 0.422 for its nonwhite families, indicating that income was distributed more unequally among the latter.

Figure 2

Lorenz Curves of Income Distributions
White and Nonwhite Families, Montana, 1959



Source: Derived from data in U.S. Census of Population: 1960.

TABLE 3

Measures of Income Inequality
1959

	Gini Ratio		Coefficient of Variation	
	U.S.	Montana	U.S.	Montana
White	.361	.352	71.19	75.69
Nonwhite	.425	.422	86.10	90.51

Source: Based on data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, and United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961 and 1963).

Another measure of income dispersion, the coefficient of variation, is also shown in table 3. This ratio is higher wherever the dispersion of incomes is greater. For 1959, it was 75.7 for white families, and 90.5 for nonwhite families.

Thus, by either test, the distribution of income in 1959 was considerably more unequal among nonwhite families than among white families. This helped to account for the high concentration of Indian families at the lowest income levels.

Table 4 shows that families in the first, or bottom quartile of the nonwhite population (that is, the 25 percent of nonwhite families with the lowest incomes) received on the average only $956, or about 45 percent as much income as their white counterparts, whereas for all nonwhite families the mean income was 60 percent of that for white families. The same was true for the second quartile. The relatively large number of poor nonwhite families reflects both the lower average incomes of nonwhites and the more unequal distribution of income among them.

Urban-Rural Differences in Montana

The disparities of income between white and nonwhite families are greatest in the larger cities and smallest on farms. Most Montana Indians live outside large cities, but not on farms--so that they are classified as "nonfarm rural" residents. Table 5 shows the distribution of nonwhite families between urban and rural areas, by color, for 1960. Those few nonwhites (only 13 percent of the total) who live on farms had a median family income fully four-fifths as great as those of white farm families (see table 6). Nonwhite families in urban areas (including, in this case, a number of Negro families), on the other hand, did very

TABLE 4

Average Family Incomes of Montana Families,
by Color and by Quartile
1959

	Montana			United States		
	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite as a Percentage of White	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite as a Percentage of White
All families	$ 6,260	$ 3,775	60.30	$ 6,899	$ 3,909	56.66
First quartile	2,116	956	45.18	2,130	885	41.55
Second quartile	4,785	2,177	45.50	4,846	2,294	47.34
Third quartile	6,416	3,919	61.08	7,442	4,138	55.60
Fourth quartile	11,975	8,046	67.19	13,176	8,321	63.15
Top 5 percent	20,221	14,380	71.11	22,931	13,714	59.80

Source: Derived from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, and United States Summary (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961 and 1963).

TABLE 5

Montana Families, by Color and Place of Residence, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Total
Urban	84,333	762	85,095
Rural nonfarm	52,173	2,680	54,853
Rural farm	25,302	527	25,829
Total	161,808	3,969	165,777

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population, 1960: General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 50, p. 95 and table 65, p. 107.

Note: A family consists of two or more persons living in the same household who are related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption; all persons living in one household who are related to one another are regarded as one family.

TABLE 6

Median Family Incomes by Color
and by Place of Residence
Montana, 1960

	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite as a Percentage of White
Urban	$5,937	$3,480	58.6
Rural nonfarm	5,143	2,773	53.9
Rural farm	4,311	3,467	80.4

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 65, p. 107.

poorly relative to whites. Nonfarm rural nonwhite families, which include most of the state's Indian population, did little better than half as well as their white counterparts.

Among the rural population, nonfarm white families had a substantially higher median family income than farm white families. With nonwhites, the situation was the opposite. To the extent that low incomes are accurate gauges of economic distress, the most serious problem for whites is among farm families, but for nonwhites it is among nonfarm rural families.

Indian Incomes in Seven Reservation Counties

The seven counties shown in table 7, each of which included Indian reservation land and had 1,000 or more resident Indians in 1960, accounted for three-fourths of Montana's total Indian population. In these seven counties taken together, 54 percent of all nonwhite families had 1959 incomes of less than $3,000. As figure 3 dramatically illustrates, the median family income of nonwhites was substantially lower than that of whites, and the proportion of nonwhite families with incomes under $3,000 was in most cases at least twice as great as that for white families.

Of the seven counties, Blaine and Lake Counties had the highest median incomes for nonwhite families (between $3,300 and $3,400) and the lowest percentage of nonwhite families with incomes below $3,000. In the other 5 counties, over 50 percent of nonwhite families had 1959 incomes under $3,000. It is interesting to note that in both Blaine and Lake Counties, white families had incomes considerably below the state average for white families, indicating that it was not just the Indian population in these areas that had fared badly.

TABLE 7

Indian Population and Nonwhite Poverty,
Selected Montana Counties, 1960

County	Reservation	Indian Population 1960	Other Nonwhite Population	Percent of Nonwhite Families With Incomes Under $3,000
Big Horn	Crow	3,334	520	52.7
Blaine	Fort Belknap	1,701	276	45.7
Glacier	Blackfeet	4,337	713	55.0
Hill	Rocky Boy	1,156	201	56.2
Lake	Flathead	1,477	257	43.8
Roosevelt	Fort Peck	2,733	488	54.5
Rosebud	Crow	1,344	230	69.6
Total Population		16,082	2,685	53.8

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Population Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28B, table 28, pp. 64-68; General Social and Economic Characteristics, Final Report PC(1)-28C, table 88, p. 157 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961).

Figure 3

Median Family Incomes in 1959
White and Nonwhite
State of Montana and 7 Counties

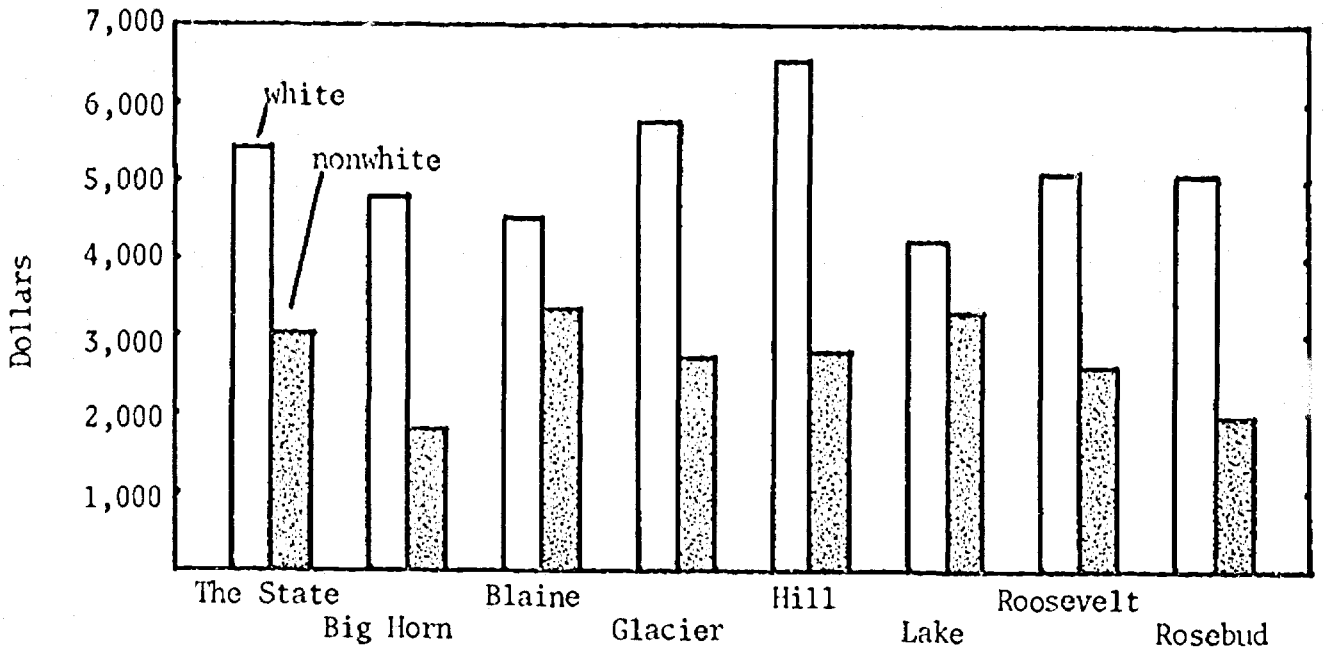
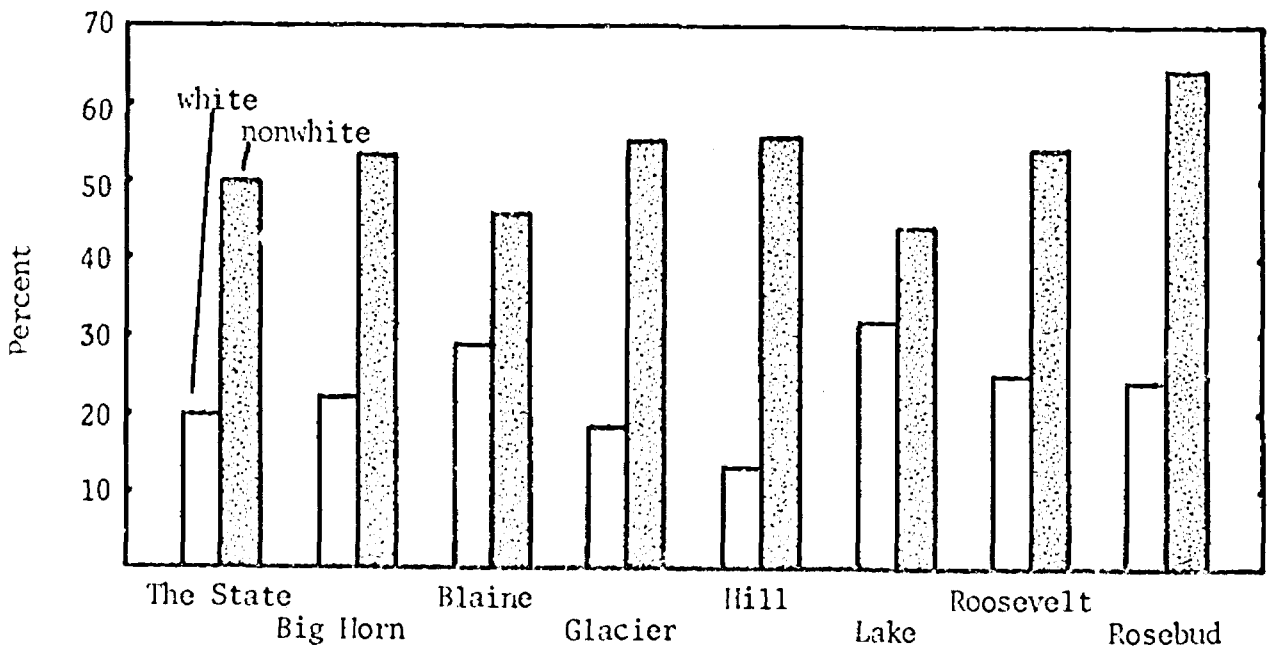


Figure 4

Percent of Families With Incomes Under $3,000 in 1959
White and Nonwhite
State of Montana and 7 Counties



Source: U.S. Census of Population: 1960.

The most distressing figures are for Rosebud County, where the median family income of nonwhites was less than $2,000, and seven out of ten families had incomes under $3,000. White families in Rosebud County also fared somewhat less well than the statewide average, but the median family income of whites--$5,020--was nonetheless two and one-half times that of nonwhite families.

Factors Relating to White-Nonwhite Income Differentials

Many factors enter into an explanation of income disparities between and among whites and nonwhites. Census data permit a focus on three. They are levels of education, occupational distribution, and regularity of employment. These factors are not unrelated--one would expect that, in general, more education means higher skills, and hence a better-paying occupation and more regular employment.

Differences in education, shown in table 8, enter importantly into the explanation of low incomes for nonwhites. Although the educational attainment of nonwhites improved markedly between 1940 and 1960, the disparities between whites and nonwhites still remained wide. The proportion of nonwhite persons with education through high school is less than half as great, and beyond high school less than a third as great, as among whites. In 1960, the median school years completed by nonwhites in Montana was only 8.7 years, against 11.7 for whites. Fifty-six percent of nonwhites had eight years or less of schooling as compared to only 34 percent for whites. Furthermore, although one can only speculate, there may be more disparities in the quality of education received by whites as opposed to nonwhites. These educational differences doubtless do much to account for the relatively low incomes of nonwhites.

TABLE 8

Distribution of School Years Completed and Median School Years
Persons 25 Years Old and Over by Color
Montana, 1940, 1950, and 1960

		1940		1950		1960	
		White	Non-White	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
		Percent Distribution					
No school		1.2	15.8	1.1	7.9	0.8	4.1
Elementary	1 to 4	5.6	19.2	4.9	16.9	3.0	10.4
	5 and 6	7.8	17.7	6.1	14.8	4.2	12.7
	7	5.3	7.9	5.8	10.2	4.7	9.0
	8	35.2	19.2	25.9	19.4	21.6	20.1
High school	1 to 3	15.0	11.5	15.6	17.3	17.1	22.4
	4	16.1	6.0	23.1	9.4	28.5	14.5
College	1 to 3	8.9	2.0	11.2	2.4	12.4	5.1
	4 or more	4.9	0.7	6.4	1.7	7.7	1.7
		100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Median school years completed		8.9	6.7	10.2	8.0	11.7	8.7

Source: Derived from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 417, pp. 92-93.

Note: Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

Table 9 shows the distribution of white and nonwhite males among various occupation groups as of April 1, 1960. The occupations are listed in ascending order of median earnings for the year 1959. As the table shows, employment of nonwhite males was concentrated heavily in the low-earning occupations, particularly common laborers. Among the higher-paying occupations, only in the operatives and clerical categories did nonwhites participate equally with whites.

The white-nonwhite differences in income are also related to employment status and the regularity of work. Table 10 shows measures from the 1960 Census related to this source of income difference. First, the proportion of persons in the labor force was much higher for whites than for nonwhites. Second, the proportion of those who are in the civilian labor force but are not employed was more than three times as great for nonwhites as for whites.

Conclusion

Montana's nonwhite population is relatively small, and is made up mostly of Indians. The incidence of poverty in Montana, as is true nationally, is much greater among nonwhites than whites. The average income of nonwhite families in Montana in 1959 was only about half as great as the average for white families. The large proportion of nonwhite families concentrated at the very lowest levels was also due, however, to a markedly greater inequality of income among nonwhite families than among white families.

The wide gap in income between whites and nonwhites is no accident. Many factors contribute to an explanation of the gap. Among them, the most important ones are lower skills and education, unfavorable

TABLE 9

Experienced Civilian Male Labor Force
Median Earnings in 1959 and Percent Distribution by Occupation and by Color in 1960
Montana

	Median Earnings in 1959	Percent Distribution		
		Total	White	Nonwhite
Private household workers	N.A.	0.13	0.13	0.13
Farm laborers and foremen	$1,645	7.16	6.82	21.76
Laborers, except farm and mine	3,119	7.91	7.67	18.16
Service workers, except private household	3,348	5.57	5.54	6.83
Farmers and farm managers	3,638	14.07	14.16	10.17
Occupation not reported	3,856	2.50	2.45	4.43
Operatives and kindred workers	4,103	15.33	15.31	15.94
Sales workers	4,732	5.37	5.46	1.62
Clerical and kindred workers	4,832	4.82	4.84	4.22
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	5,092	17.30	17.46	10.45
Professional, technical, and kindred workers	5,988	8.56	8.66	4.02
Managers, officials, and proprieters, except farm	6,115	11.27	11.48	2.28
Male, 14 years old and over	4,397	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: Derived from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, Detailed Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28D (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), table 122, pp. 236-237, table 124, pp. 242-243.

Note: Detail may not add to total due to rounding.

N.A. = Not available.

TABLE 10

Employment Status, by Color
Montana, 1940, 1950, and 1960

	1940		1950		1960	
	White	Non-White	White	Non-White	White	Non-White
Percent of persons 14 years old and over in the labor force	52.9	43.3	54.4	40.5	55.9	42.6
Percent of the civilian labor force employed	83.1	51.8	95.2	79.6	93.6	75.2
Percent of the civilian labor force not employed	16.9	48.2	4.8	20.4	6.4	24.8

Source: Derived from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1960, General Social and Economic Characteristics, Montana, Final Report PC(1)-28C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), table 53, p. 98.

occupational distribution, less labor force participation, and higher rates of unemployment among those who are in the labor force. Downright discrimination also plays a part, but we have no quantitative measurement of its role.

It needs to be recognized that the Indian population is concentrated in the seven reservation counties and that many of these counties have not afforded much economic opportunity even to whites. Assuming most Indians are going to remain on reservations, an upgrading of their economic status will require promoting on-the-spot employment opportunities.

AMERICAN INDIANS IN THE "MELTING POT"

by

Robert J. Bigart

Early anthropologists and popular American opinion have long assumed that Indians would soon be assimilated into the larger white American society. But lately a growing body of literature in psychological anthropology suggests that such a "melting pot" view of what is happening to the American Indian may be inadequate and misleading. Even in studies of European immigrants, recent work suggests that important aspects of ethnic identity may survive the Americanization process.[1] The cultural differences separating Indians from the larger American society, however, are much greater than those that separated white Americans from newly arrived European immigrants, and evidence is accumulating that distinctively Indian communities will exist indefinitely in the United States.

If the values and psychological patterns in Indian culture are likely to survive, there are important implications for government policy towards Indian economic development. During most of the last

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1. See Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1963).

This paper on the "melting pot" view of American society and its relation to the Indian, is a personal paper that was written for the Montana Business Quarterly but is included here because the author feels it complements the paper on the interaction between Indian culture and factory organization done for the Montana Economic Study.

century, with the partial exception of the New Deal era, the United States has operated on the assumption that Indians will present only a temporary "problem" until they either die out or are assimilated. For example, the craze during the 1950's was to "terminate" those tribes whose members, it was assumed, had adjusted en[illegible] white culture for them to make their way without federal su[illegible]r help. The termination of several tribes during this p[illegible]ved disastrous, for in planning for the termination the governmen[illegible] had worked from the assumption that the ultimate goal was for Indians to become Americanized--or more correctly Westernized.[2]

If it it not true that assimilation and the eventual disappearance of Indian culture will occur naturally in the foreseeable future, then the government attempts to help the Indian people should instead have revolved around strengthening the tribal unit and creating situations where Indian values and attitudes would be functional. The possibility that Indian culture, or major parts of it, is here to stay is important for businessmen and educators on the reservations as well as government employees, for it would keep firmly in mind the need to adjust the Western European "factory" organization, teaching strategies, and production methods so that they could be made to satisfy Indian cultural values.

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2. For examples, see Edgar S. Cahn, ed., Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America (Washington, D.C.: New Community Press, 1969), pp. 14-23; S. Tyman Tyler, Indian Affairs: A Work Paper on Termination: With an Attempt to Show Its Antecedents (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University, 1964), entire.

Modal Personality

Starting with The People of Alor by Cora DuBois, anthropologists have demonstrated that different cultures have different modal or ideal values and personality types.[3] This does not mean that everyone in the culture has a similar personality, but it does mean that certain types of behavior and values are rewarded and encouraged by the culture while others are disapproved.

Later research on different Indian groups confirmed the existence of a personality type that was not only common within the specific tribe tested but found to be general among North American Indian groups.[4] This personality type was strikingly different from the type valued in Western European culture, and consequently could be an important aspect of any discussion of cultural change in American Indian communities. The survival of the Indian ideal personality type would make the present conflict between Indian values and Western oriented social institutions such as schools and factories permanent, unless these institutions can be adapted to function within the Indian value system.

Psychological Acculturation

Most American Indian tribes have or are undergoing a rapid process of technological acculturation which makes them, on the surface at

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3. Cora DuBois, The People of Alor (New York: Harper & Row, 1944).

4. George D. and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and their Sociocultural Roots," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 311 (May 1957), pp. 147-157.

least, increasingly similar to their white neighbors. But how much does this change in the more superficial aspects of culture, such as housing, clothing, language, and even religion, affect the more basic Indian elements such as personal values, attitudes, and life style?

To the early anthropologists who saw each culture as a closely integrated functioning unit, it was impossible to consider a shift occurring in one part of the culture without parallel shifts in the rest of the culture. Later research by Hallowell and others, however, suggested that adoption of white technology did not necessarily entail adoption of the Western value system and outlook on life. Consequently, anthropologists could talk of acculturation which "in many ways {was} only skin deep."[5] The important implication of this "skin-deep" acculturation is that for the most part only those cultural traits that can be effectively incorporated into the Indian value system will be successfully borrowed. For example, many Indians have learned how to be skilled machinists because the Indian value system is amenable to productive work and work-saving tools. These same workers, however, have largely been unwilling or unable to accept the value of personal competition within the American factory organization.

The pioneering study in this area was done by A. Irving Hallowell in the 1930s.[6] Hallowell used Rorschach ink blots, a projective test developed in clinical psychology for use in personality assessment,

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5. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Some Psychological Determinants of Culture Change in an Iroquoian Community," Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951), p. 60.

6. A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience (New York: Schocken Books, 1955), pp. 345-357.

to explore the personality structure of three groups of Ojibwa Indians. Two of the groups studied were located in Canada, and one in Wisconsin. Their levels of acculturation to white technology and society varied from one of the Canadian groups that had only minimal acquaintance with white society to the Wisconsin group where English, frame houses, and wage work were predominant. This is a considerable variation, yet Hallowell found a striking psychological continuity of the Indian modal personality among all three groups:

> There is a persistent core of generic traits which can be identified as Ojibwa. Thus even the highly acculturated Indians at Flambeau are still Ojibwa in a psychological sense whatever their clothes, their houses, or their occupations, whether they speak English or not, and regardless of race mixture. While culturally speaking they appear like "whites" in many respects, there is no evidence at all of a fundamental psychological transformation [to the Western European modal personality type].[7]

While there had been no basic shift to the white psychological patterns, Hallowell's results did indicate that as physical acculturation progressed the Indian personality forms came under increasing pressure. He found that acculturation among the Ojibwa was largely a process of fitting Western European cultural elements into an Indian framework. Where this was impossible, conflict resulted between the Indian and white elements, adding to the pressure on

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7. Hallowell, Culture and Experience, p. 351.

the Indian personality type, but without a resulting shift to the Western European form.[8]

In the late 1940s Anthony Wallace conducted a similar inquiry into the modal personality of the highly acculturated Tuscarora Indians in New York.[9] This tribe has been in close contact with white Americans since colonial times and today is, on the surface at least, largely indistinguishable from the surrounding white population. Wallace, however, found a modal personality that was quite atypical of Western society. This means that one of the most acculturated Indians groups in the United States had a personality which was basically similar to the much less acculturated Ojibwa groups. Those Ojibwa-Tuscarora differences that did appear were interpreted as largely reflecting differences in the pre-white culture of the two tribes. This picture of the "end result" of acculturation further emphasizes that, despite technological assimilation into white society, Indian communities are likely to retain indefinitely the Indian modal personality type.

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8. This does not necessarily indicate that widespread psychological disintegration will result, for as Erik H. Erikson demonstrated for the Sioux in Childhood and Society, 2d ed. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1963), it is possible for most Indians to stay reasonably psychologically healthy through devices such as withdrawal, compartmentalization, and displacement despite what might otherwise be an intolerable Indian-white conflict in the social environment. For another viewpoint see Gordon MacGregor, Warriors Without Weapons (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946).

9. Anthony F. C. Wallace, "The Modal Personality Structure of the Tuscarora Indians As Revealed by the Rorschach Test," Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 150 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952).

An examination of a somewhat special situation, the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin, was carried out in the late 1940s by George D. Spindler.[10] The Menomini situation is unusual among Indian tribes in that the sawmill and lumbering enterprise run by the tribe at the time offered a chance for white-oriented Menomini to live "like white men" without leaving the reservation. There is no way to be sure, but the Menomini results presented by Spindler probably represent what can happen in an Indian community when out-migration of white-oriented individuals is curtailed. Spindler found that the Menomini did distribute along a psychological continuum from the traditional Indian modal personality to a Western goals-oriented acculturated group. But this may have occurred because individual Indians were being assimilated into white society who on other reservations would have left the Indian community and not have appeared in the testing population. This suggests that the psychological survival of Indian communities is the result of the community's producing Indian-oriented members fast enough to make up for the loss of population to white society.

The testing of another highly acculturated group, the Flathead of Montana, was carried out by this author in late 1968.[11] The

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10. George D. Spindler, Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation, University of California Publications in Culture and Society, vol. 5 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955).

11. Robert Bigart, "Culture Change in an Indian Community," Cambridge, Mass., June 8, 1969. Mimeo.

Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), another projective psychological test, was used to try to trace the patterns of psychological acculturation among the Indians and whites within the community on the reservation. A control group of off-reservation whites was used for comparative purposes. This study used only high school subjects, however, and consequently was not representative of the age gradient on the reservation. The tests were evaluated for themes dealing with achievement, aggression, and relationships with authority figures. The reservation group was subdivided according to degree of Indian blood and economic status.

The survival of the modal Indian psychological pattern was clearly demonstrated by comparing the Indians with the off-reservation control group. For example, for the Indians, authority figures still gave advice rather than orders, and were respected as nurturing influences. The off-reservation whites, as would be expected of Western adolescents, saw authority figures as being much more dominant and hostile. Even more interesting was that the degree of Indian blood and economic status did not correlate with frequency of Indian personality traits. It is doubtful then that further intermarriage with whites or continued economic improvement under present conditions will bring an end to the Indian community. The most startling result of the study, however, was the position of the reservation whites. It developed that they had absorbed important Indian values and expectations. This was probably a result of their being socialized into their reservation peer group (which by this time was half white). Indications of psychological

stress were somewhat more frequent in the off-reservation white adolescents than in either reservation group.

The results of these four studies give an impressive documentation of the survival of the Indian modal personality type, and consequently demonstrates that Indian-oriented communities remain essentially Indian despite acculturation. This hypothesis has been stated explicitly by Sol Tax, an anthropologist at the University of Chicago:

> My hypothesis is (1) that acculturation [used here to mean assimilation of the group into white American society] is not occurring in North America; (2) that Indian societies lose individuals, but the rate is so slow compared to the vegetative population increase that (3) there are as many or more Indians in communities with Indian culture than there were a generation ago. And for all we know, the number may increase rather than decrease.[12]

Implications

The implications of the survival of Indian values and ideal personality types despite acculturation are, as mentioned earlier, immediate. Since a person's values and psychological outlook on life are linked to his ability to operate effectively in different situations, it is impractical for Indian communities to use those Western social institutions that stem from the American value system. To incorporate schools, governmental organization, and factories into

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12. Sol Tax, "Acculturation" Exhibit 23 in Documentary History of the Fox Project, 1948-1959, Program in Action Anthropology, Directed by Sol Tax, ed. by Fred Gearing, Robert McC. Netting and Lisa R. Peattie (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1960), p. 14.

an Indian community without changing them so that they will not conflict with the Indian value system is to invite problems and possible failure. Trouble could be avoided if schools adjusted their teaching strategies to fit the special position of children within Indian society. Factories could likewise orient their production to allow for the flexibility needed to function within Indian value preferences, by selecting work that can be done individually at a rate determined by the individual worker's needs and desires rather than the speed of the assembly line.

Tribal governments in turn could be organized to foster the type of leadership selection developed by Indian culture to help insure that the leaders selected represent those qualities most valued by the community. Businesses could tailor the monetary and nonmonetary rewards their employees receive for work so they would result in the greatest amount of personal satisfaction and prestige for the worker. Other changes can and should be made within the social, educational, and economic institutions on the reservations to contribute to the community well-being, rather than being disruptive forces. Such changes cannot be worked out in detail from the ethnographic literature, but would require experimentation along the broad lines suggested by the anthropological studies. The evaluation and direction of this experimentation must be done largely at least by the leaders within the Indian community since outside experts would be less able to judge community reactions to the innovations.

The "melting pot" myth of American society is clearly inappropriate to describe the "adjustment" of American Indians to a largely white-controlled environment. The inadequacy of this view further suggests that those involved with Indian economic development and government policy should realize that many Indian traits are destined to be characteristic of Indians indefinitely, and consequently policy should be oriented to use these traits for the Indian people's benefit rather than attempting to eradicate all Indian traits as barriers to "progress."

INDIAN CULTURE AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

by

Robert J. Bigart

The increased spread of Western technology to Indians and other cultural groups has created a crucial problem--that of finding means to integrate these new technological forms into different cultures.[1] The factory and school as social institutions have been developed over the centuries, along lines that would make them function effectively in Western society. How the social organization within a factory can be changed to work effectively in Indian society is a question of practical importance for those bringing plants and jobs onto the reservation.

Inherent in any proposal to change the factory so that it will work on the reservation is the belief that Indian cultures are not dying. The "melting pot" image of America has a long history, but recent scholarship such as Beyond the Melting Pot by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and the work of A. Irving Hallowell, collected in his book Culture and Experience, suggest that it is probably not an accurate picture of American social development. For example, Hallowell examined Ojibwa Indian communities in Canada and Wisconsin at three levels of acculturation and found they were still retaining a:

> . . . core of generic traits which can be identified as Ojibwa. Thus even the highly acculturated Indians at Flambeau are still

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1. "Western" in this paper refers to the cultural forms developed in Western Europe.

> Ojibwa in a psychological sense whatever their clothes, their houses, or their occupations, whether they speak English or not, and regardless of race mixture.[2]

Sol Tax, an anthropologist at the University of Chicago, has suggested that:

> . . . there is no reason to expect now that the Navajo, the Fox, or the Iroquois won't be with us for a thousand years--or as the treaties used to say, as long as the grass grows and water runs.[3]

Since factories were developed by and for Western culture, the continuance of Indian communities would appear to require that reservation factories be adjusted to fit into the nonwestern social and cultural milieu.

In order to illuminate these areas of Indian-white cultural differences we will sketch Indian culture and the contrasting Western cultural traits that have been organized into the factory. Against this background, the appropriateness of various possible changes in the factory organization can be discussed. Such alterations would not, of course, assure success, any more than using another sort of factory organization would mean predetermined failure. But adjusting a factory to Indian culture offers a promising way to increase the worker's personal rewards from employment and the social advantages of the factory to the community.

INDIAN CULTURAL TRAITS

Independence

The traits discussed in this paper have been found to be common among North American Indians generally except possibly, the Northwest

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2. A. Irving Hallowell, Culture and Experience (New York: Schocken Books, 1955), p. 351.

3. Fred Gearing, Robert C. McNetting, and Lisa R. Peattie, eds., Documentary History of the Fox Project 1948-1959, A Program in Action Anthropology, Directed by Sol Tax (Chicago: Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, 1960), p. 173.

Coast cultural region.[4] The distinguishing feature of Indian society is the degree of independence allowed an individual. Among the Sioux, Erik Erikson found that, as a child "every educational device was used to develop in the boy a maximum of self-confidence, first by maternal generosity and assurance, then by fraternal training."[5] George and Louise Spindler note that psychological testing results from Indian groups indicate a strong individual autonomy.[6] Indians seek advice from others, but customarily emphasize reaching an actual decision independent of outside pressure. Indian social values prize personal independence over dominance. Only in those few cases where the welfare of others is seriously threatened will Indian society reluctantly condone forcing an adult to take any action.

Such an emphasis on independence has a direct relationship to the means by which a community reaches decisions. In an Indian community, the ideal situation is to discuss a problem until a consensus is reached on a resolution. Majority decisions which would leave part of the community in disagreement are not valued, because such a situation would violate the rights of the minority and possibly cause friction in the community.[7]

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4. See George D. and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and Their Sociocultural Roots," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 311 (May 1957), pp. 147-157, for a discussion of the common core of psychological traits found in the different tribes.

5. Erik H. Erikson, Childhood and Society, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1963), p. 143.

6. George D. and Louise S. Spindler, "American Indian Personality Types and Their Sociocultural Roots," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, vol. 311 (May 1957), p. 148.

7. Evon Z. Vogt and Ethel M. Albert, eds., People of Rimrock: A Study of Values in Five Cultures (New York: Atheneum, 1966), p. 221.

Nature of Authority

Independence in Indian society is practiced within the context of strong social consciousness. Independence frees the individual from outside control, but in order to obtain the approval of the group he has to act with its welfare in mind. Positive encouragement and reward as opposed to negative punishment, are the preferred means of obtaining desired behavior. Probably one of the best expressions of the means by which concern for the welfare of the family and tribe is developed is in the reminiscences of the Sioux, Lone Eagle:

> The grandfather tells him many stories of the hunt and the warpath. He hears the thrilling tales of the braves of his tribe. He shoots his first bird, or small animal, and is praised for it. It becomes the topic of many evening talks around the family fireside. He feels that he has become important to his family.[8]

When negative control--usually teasing and ridicule--is necessary, it is exercised by the peer group instead of the hierarchy.[9]

Attitude Towards Property

The interplay of group loyalty and individual welfare is illustrated by the attitude toward property. Personal ownership of property becomes less a right than a privilege. When others need or want an article, an individual's social responsibility requires him to give it away. Erikson saw this among the Sioux where:

> . . . parents were ready at any time to let go of utensils and treasures, if a visitor so much as admired them, although

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8. Floyd Shuster Maine, Lone Eagle: The White Sioux (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956), p. 143.

9. Erikson, Childhood and Society, pp. 140-141; Mari Sandoz, These Were The Sioux (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), p. 33; Hartley Burr Alexander, The World's Rim: Great Mysteries of the North American Indian, with a Foreward by Clyde Kluckhohn (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1953), p. 170; Murray L. Wax, Rosalie H. Wax, and Robert V. Dumont, Jr., "Formal Education in an American Indian Community," supplement to Social Problems vol. 11, no. 4 (Spring 1964), p. 88.

> there were, of course, conventions curbing a visitor's expression of enthusiasm.[10]

Ideally, the interests of others and the welfare of the group take precedence over the personal pleasure. The low value placed on property is functional in a concept of life where the natural and social world "provide the scene and the spectacle, but in the man's soul is the action."[11]

Competition

Competition between groups or in games, as opposed to personal rivalry, is encouraged and well developed. Before the whites came, this group competition had taken the form of ritualized war, the object of which was ". . . not conquest but trophies and there developed an elaborate heraldry of military symbolism."[12] Probably the best known contemporary example is the role of team sports in modern Indian communities. Rosalie and Murray Wax conducted an extensive study of the schools on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and found a "passionate desire to play basketball and participate in sports among the male students." Some stated that team sports were their only reason for not dropping out of school.[13]

Rewards

The rewards provided by such a cultural system are also distinctive. The Indian needs more from his endeavors than mere physical reward. Material

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10. Erikson, Childhood and Society, p. 139.

11. Alexander, The World's Rim, p. 173.

12. Alexander, The World's Rim, p. 188.

13. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Levine, eds., The American Indian Today (Deland, Florida: Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1968), p. 166.

goods are not a means to prestige and standing in the Indian community, so a job should offer rewards through social contributions as well as through money. This is the reason that within an Indian cultural framework when a choice is available, one does not opt for delayed gratification in terms of material goods or accumulation.[14] Work and money are not considered valuable in themselves, as they are, ideally at least, in white society. Unless in addition to financial gain, a job offers rewards in social prestige through contributions to the group, there will be a conflict between increasing a person's social position and merely supplying his physical needs.

Attitude Toward Nature

Indian culture does not emphasize the Western ideal of exploiting and manipulating the environment. Power and control over the realm of nature is not rewarded. In the Indian view, man is a part of the world and made from it. The Navaho creation story, for example, tells how:

> "The gods and the spirits of the Sacred Mountains created Man. He was made of all rains, springs, rivers, ponds, black clouds, and sky. His feet are made of earth and his legs of lightning. White shells for his knees, and his body is white and yellow corn, his flesh is of daybreak, his hair darkness, his eyes are of the sun. White corn forms his teeth, black corn his eyebrows, and red coral beads his nose. His tears are of rain, his tongue of straight lightning, and voice of thunder. His heart is obsidian, the little whirlwind keeps his nerves in motion, and his movement is the air. The name of this new kind of being was "Created from Everything."[15]

Being a part of nature, man must maintain harmony with his environment rather than exploit it.[16] The thrill of controlling and manipulating

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14. Disinterest in delayed gratification is a natural result of a present-time orientation.

15. Phillip Hyde and Stephen C. Jett, Navaho Wildlands: "as long as the rivers shall run" (New York: Sierra Club, Ballantine Books, 1967), p. 51.

16. Hyde and Jett, Navaho Wildlands, p. 119.

nature through machinery and tools is not rewarding in a culture that encourages integration into an environment.

Sense of Time

Indian society has a present-time orientation unlike either the Western orientation toward the future and toward accumulation, or the oriental reverence for the past and tradition. This is another reason for Indian culture's impatience with promises of delayed gratification. In the absence of the "Protestant Ethic," with its orientation towards the future in both this life and the next, there is no motivation to endure the rigid time scheduling and punctuality idealized in the larger American society. Fred Gearing noticed the effects of time orientation in the present day Mesquakie who:

> . . . is guided almost exclusively by his moment-to-moment relations with others: he bridles under long-term, rigid work schedules; he becomes uncomfortable in situations requiring isolated self-direction.[17]

The Indian present-time orientation works two ways. Although there might be little punctuality in starting there is also little in stopping; if the work is interesting and challenging, the Indian present-time orientation should often result in a larger net effort.

THE WESTERN FACTORY SYSTEM

The factory in Western society is organized to conform to a set of cultural values and expectations quite different from those of the Indian. Some observers have suggested that the values of workers in Western society are changing. The personal-achievement-oriented factory may no

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17. Fred Gearing, et al., Documentary History of the Fox Project, pp. 405-406.

longer be effectively attuned to the desires of Western workers, but it is important in terms of this paper because it supplies the values and assumptions that underlie the forms of factory organization now being imported onto the reservations. The discussion in this section tries to describe the value assumptions underlying the Western factory, not the values of white American workers.[18] In contrast to Indian culture, independence in the Western factory takes the form of being free to work for the benefit of oneself or one's immediate family instead of the larger group. Decision-making independence is severely limited both by the dominance of the hierarchy and by the emphasis on competition.

Social organization in the factory is structured along the dominance-submission basis common to Western society.[19] Instead of merely advising, as they would in Indian society, superiors order their subordinates to do something. A worker's relationship to his supervisor is customarily one of deference and implies limited but real control. In relationships among equals, competition is expected, especially among the occupational peer groups. In many instances, of course, the ideal of competition is not realized because the workers prefer good relations with their peers; nevertheless, proving oneself by excelling a fellow worker is considered

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18. "Cultural values" as used here concerns those values which a society "officially" idealizes and tries to inculcate into its young people--not necessarily the values practiced by the majority of the people in that society.

19. Most of the recent scholarship in this area has been concerned with the limits of autocratic power in a modern factory, but the inherent assumption is that power in the factory flows from the top with limitations caused by the need for cooperation from the lower levesl of the organization. For example, see Michel Crozier, The Bureaucratic Phenomenon (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 145-174.

the best way to advance in the hierarchy.[20] In some ways, competition limits the freedom of the individual, since his actions are, to a large extent, dictated by the needs of his role as competitor and even more by the outcome of the competitive game. Unlike Indian culture, where independence means the freedom to act for the group's good, pressured only by the positive rewards of group acceptance and approval, the independence idealized by the factory worker is the right to act without concern for group well-being and in the face of negative sanctions from fellow workers. The negative aspects of social control--setting out what must not be done and punishing the disobedient--are emphasized more in the Western factory culture than in Indian culture, which prefers to secure the desired behavior by setting an ideal and then emphasizing the positive sanctions of praise and encouragement.

Most of the rewards offered for laboring in a factory are Western rewards--money for personal use and accumulation, the feeling of power from using machines to manipulate nature, and the assurance that work itself is good for one.[21] In an Indian value system these rewards are less satisfactory.

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20. The more the hierarchy is involved with the workings of the employee's peer group the more likely cliques will develop that cut across several levels of the organization. (Crozier, Bureaucratic Phenomenon, pp. 190-192). Such cliques would mean that in order to advance, the workers must obtain the favor of their supervisors rather than their peers.

21. The differences cited can be seen in the framework of Florence Kluckholm's value orientations and Talcott Parsons' pattern alternatives. Personal accumulation would be comparable to Kluckholn's relational division between lineal, collective, and independent orientations, and Parsons' self versus collectivity orientation. Both Indian and Western culture are independently oriented but, as explained in the text, this independence takes quite different forms. The manipulation of nature is covered in Kluckholn's man-nature orientation with a choice between man-subject-to-nature, man-over-nature, and man-with-nature. The value of work difference would be quite similar to the activity choice of Kluckhohn between a doing and a being orientation and Parson's affectivity and affective neutrality variable. For a full discussion of the different value structures see Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 58-67; and Florence Kluckholn and Fred Strodtbech with the assistance of John M. Roberts and others, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, & Company, 1961).

In the Western ideal the worker has a commodity-exchange relationship to the factory. He exchanges so many hours of labor a week for so much exchangeable currency. Little emphasis is placed on the factory as a type of kinship group involving commitments and dealings with other factory workers on an emotional level. Division of labor and assembly-line production have emphasized this commodity-exchange style of relationship in the Western factory, while bureaucratic developments have tended to foster the development of informal social controls.[22] This is in sharp contrast to the Indian preference for being part of the social and physical environment--to blend into the group or surroundings.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FACTORIES EMPLOYING INDIAN LABOR

These cultural differences indicate that factories located on reservations could be more successful, at least in terms of worker satisfaction, if their organization were adapted to Indian rather than Western cultural forms.

The cultural conflicts outlined in this paper suggest certain types of changes that could be made in the Western factory system, but at this stage the evidence is so meager that one can only speculate about the nature of such changes. Only experimentation within reservation factories would give the evidence needed to work out the details of an Indian organized factory. From the sketchy information available, I am making the following set of speculations as possible solutions, to be considered for further investigation.

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22. See discussion of succession crisis within a factory's administration in Alvin W. Gouldner, Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy (New York: The Free Press, 1954).

The first problem in such an adaptation is determining the kind of factories that would allow the most satisfying types of work. In the past, the most successful factories on reservations have been those that need work done individually by skilled labor. Henry Hough has observed that:

> . . . in certain types of work, such as precision industries including electronics and the cutting of diamonds and jewel bearings, Indian workers have proved to be outstanding craftsmen and ideal employees.[23]

While assembly line plants where the individual worker is unskilled and has no visible personal accomplishments have often been financially successful, plants needing precision-craft work have usually been better received by the Indian community. Many of these plants have found it useful to operate on a piece-work basis reminiscent of the individual hunting patterns in the tribe. Some of the factories which Hough cites as being most successful produce "jewel bearings and precision instruments, electric components, precision gears and related items, cut diamonds, silicon transistors, electronic components."[24] Some tribes have also found it best to get into industries that can market their production to oligopolies and/or large firms, for then the tribe avoids competing in some of the more unstable markets and does not get involved in the problem of retail distribution of the finished product.

Ownership of reservation factories is a problem that has never really been faced. When the early plants were started on reservations private

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23. Henry W. Hough, Development of Indian Resources (Denver, Colorado: Indian Community Action Program, World Press, Inc., 1967), p. 193.

24. Hough, Development of Indian Resources, pp. 199-200.

industry was not interested, so many became tribal enterprises. Tribal ownership of plants has run into problems caused by lack of management expertise and tribal politics, but these problems could probably be worked out by management training and limited tribal control over the everyday decisions of a factory.

The choice facing a reservation need not, however, be limited to tribal ownership and/or private development. For example, a plant could be incorporated and the stock sold to the tribe and local residents, with the remaining shares saved for distribution or purchase by employees. Generally, the stock should be available in inexpensive lots in order to increase opportunity for wide distribution of ownership. Either the management or management trainees could be Indian, depending on what local talent is available. Such mixed ownership would allow both a tribal and a local voice in running the factory but not rely upon these lay groups to make the day-to-day decisions involved in running the plant.

The advantage of local involvement in the factory is suggested by the Indian pattern of "band government." For most tribes, the effective level of government and social involvement was the band--a unit of the tribe that often included only a few hundred people. The cohesive government structure of the tribe is actually a white innovation. Many tribes had their tribal organization effectively destroyed by the federal government in the last century, a fact which makes local involvement in factory ownership even more attractive.

One example is the Navaho tribe in which tribal government has actually developed quite effectively, but the problems involved with the evolution of a cohesive tribal unit have been immense.[25] Rough Rock Demonstration

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25. For a discussion of this problem in a historical context see Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1948).

School on the Navaho Reservation in Arizona has successfully fostered local support and involvement in the operation of the school by giving direct authority over the school to a board drawn from the local community, rather than from the tribe as a whole.[26] Such an approach could also be used in organizing economic activities on the reservation.

The Indian value system might also be incorporated into an internal factory organization by qualitatively changing the relationship of the worker to the plant. The rigid working schedule of the efficiency expert could give way to a more loosely run system in which individual initiative and responsibility were trusted. Instead of running on a rigid eight-to-five schedule, such a plant might better plan around longer time units and wages based on the number of units produced. For example, production levels might be set by the month, and the worker could schedule his work during that month as he desires. If the plant were labor-intensive, there would be less pressure to make continuous use of the plant's equipment, since the fixed capital investment would be relatively low. While the worker would be free to work at any rate he chose over the short-run in such an Indian plant, he would be expected to commit himself to a set amount of production for the month so the management could plan on a certain overall level of production. Experience would show how close to the quotas workers could be expected to come.

Instead of supervisors making all of the production decisions, the workers could meet and help in the assignment of production quotas; thus, the quotas could take into consideration differing individual needs and industriousness. The workers could be kept informed of plant problems,

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26. The story of the school can be found in Broderick H. Johnson, Navaho Education at Rough Rock (Rough Rock, Arizona: Rough Rock Demonstration School, DINE, Inc., 1968).

and their advice could be solicited on impending decisions. This, combined with encouraging the workers to invest part of their wages in stock in the plant, could contribute toward a situation where supervisors would work with the Indian employees instead of simply giving orders. Workers would also have less fear of being taken advantage of and even poor workers could be paid for what work they do. Another feature of tribal organization that could be incorporated into the factory would be the practice of giving the workers an advisory voice in selecting management personnel. Such a worker-management relationship would probably require that the factory be of no more than moderate size. The ideal size would have to be determined by experience, but one would expect it would probably be around 100 employees. Many more than 150 employees would probably put too much strain on worker involvement.

An enterprise operating under such constraints would have to be willing to put social considerations above profit maximization and possibly be willing to accept a lower profit margin. But if the plant succeeded in making the working conditions sufficiently rewarding for the Indian workers, production and profit might be higher than normal. Many Indians are quite willing to accept lower pay in order to work on the reservation, and the dedication and effort that has been exerted on behalf of the tribal group by the individual offers a reservoir of energy which, if tapped through adapting to Indian culture, could perhaps more than make up for losses due to the loosening of factory organization.

The argument for an Indian-oriented factory is enhanced when one remembers that, according to some observers, even Western workers are becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the lack of intangible benefits in the traditional factory. The changes now being introduced by the

affluent society may very well be altering American work attitudes enough to make the factory system, as now organized, out of adjustment even with present-day American values.[27] If this is true, then normal production and profits in American business would be below what would be possible if the factory were more effectively meeting the needs and desires of its Western workers.

Possibly the most potent Indian motivation untouched by the Western factory is social consciousness. Ways must be devised to make working in the factory beneficial to the community as well as to the individual. Widespread ownership of stock by the community would be one step in this direction but much more could be done. One possibility would be to get the workers' organization or union local involved in community projects. A clause in the incorporation that would make a certain percentage of the profits available to the workers' group for use in community projects could spur this involvement. Within stated restrictions the employees would have the money to spend on the community--emphasizing those projects that include some personal involvement by the workers.

These are just a few of the ways the Western factory could be adjusted to fit into Indian culture. Many reservation factories have worked without such changes, but they have denied the owners potential employee motivation and the workers much personal satisfaction and accomplishment.

AN EXAMPLE: THE YANKTON PLANT

A successful factory that does incorporate some of these changes is an electronics plant on the Yankton Sioux Reservation, in South Dakota.

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7. See the discussion in John Kenneth Galbraith, The Affluent Society (New York: New American Library, 1958).

The plant is small, informal, and, theoretically at least, might seem to be inoperable. Work is done individually and pay is by the unit completed, to allow the workers the flexibility they need in fitting their income to their needs and desires. In spite of, or maybe because of, the reliance on individual initiative, the local community has been revived and the reputation of the plant established. Vine Deloria, Jr., the son of the Episcopal missionary who started the factory, noted that:

> . . . that little factory is highly respected by electronics firms in the Midwest that have subcontracts with it. . . . It started with twenty, twenty-five men, and now it's expanding to twice that many.[28]

Information on the effects of Western social organization upon Indian workers is difficult to obtain because most people have assumed that Western technology can be used effectively only within the framework of Western values.[29] When the Menominee Indians of Wisconsin were terminated in 1961 , outside management and modern industrial practices were introduced in the tribe's lumbering operations, which resulted in increasing employment problems. Under pressure to increase earnings to pay an especially high tax burden, the sawmill streamlined its operations and tightened its employment practices, forcing most of the less efficient workers onto the welfare rolls.[30]

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28. Quoted in Stan Steiner, The New Indians (New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1968), p. 125.

29. For an example of a study which assumed that Indians must be taught to adopt Western work practices see Benjamin J. Taylor and Dennis J. O'Conner, Indian Manpower Resources in the Southwest: A Pilot Study (Tempe, Arizona: Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1969), p. 356.

30. For a short discussion of the Menominee problem see James Ridgeway, "The Lost Indians," The New Republic, vol. 153 (December 4, 1965), p. 18. A feature in the New York Times about the same time was more optimistic about the Menominee's prospects but admits that a good lumber market helped substantially; see also Donald Janson, "Tribe in Wisconsin, Deprived of Special Status, Seeks Help in Going it Alone," New York Times, September 7, 1965. Another discussion of the Menominee experience which touched on employee reaction to the efficiency emphasis of the management is Gary Orfield's A Study of the Termination Policy (Denver, Colorado: National Congress of American Indians, 1966), ch. 6, pp. 12 and 13.

The Rough Rock Demonstration School at Rough Rock, Arizona, has turned much of the business side of the school's operations over to a local board of Navahos who have adopted a number of innovations with considerable success. Jobs are rotated among the families of the community and special efforts have been made to integrate the school operations into the life of the neighborhood.[31]

In a paper published by the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, Sol Tax and Sam Stanley have outlined the Indian's long history of successful adaptation which was thwarted when white America chose to "civilize the natives" instead of letting the Indians continue to develop within an Indian cultural framework. From their experience as anthropologists working on various reservations, they have concluded that:

> In any case, we wish to emphasize and get on the record that: to consider the economic development of American Indians, it is imperative at the outset to recognize the necessity of fulfilling two conditions simultaneously, neither at the sacrifice of the other.
>
> The first is the nonviolation, indeed the preservation, of Indian identity and the values by which Indians live. Here it must be understood that for Indians this involves tribal identification, not individual or "Indian," but, for example, Hopi.
>
> The second condition necessary for fulfillment is that, without threatening Indian identity or violating Indian values, we must assist Indians in making a better economic adjustment to what can be considered a new environment by making relevant resources available to them.[32]

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31. For a discussion of the development of the school, see Broderick H. Johnson, Navaho Education at Rough Rock (Rough Rock, Arizona: Rough Rock Demonstration School, 1968).

32. Sol Tax and Sam Stanley, "Indian Identity and Economic Development" in Toward Economic Development For Native American Communities: A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Economy in Government of the Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), vol. 1, pp. 75-76.

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